

## Southern Librarianship and the Culture of Resentment

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### **Abstract:**

The development of library service in the southern states occurred in a supposedly reconciliatory period of American history following the Civil War, but the reforms of Reconstruction, the indigenous remnants of "southern culture," and feelings of isolation from larger professional affairs bred dissent and feelings of estrangement between natives and outsiders. This article relates "the southern problem" to early key events in southern library development and current fractures in American cultural politics.

### **Article:**

Those still dazed by the tawdriness of style, if not the content, of the 2004 election campaign, with its predictable diversions and sideshows, should consider the journalistic garbage dredged up in past presidential campaigns: Andrew Jackson shot a man who insulted his wife, Rachel Donelson, because he had claimed their marriage was not legal; James Buchanan, the bachelor president, lived for years in Washington with Alabama senator Rufus King, who was skewered in the press as "Miss Nancy"; and FDR and his First Lady were variously characterized by enemies of the administration as Jew-mongers, miscegenationists, and Communists.<sup>1</sup> Neither conservatives nor liberals—whatever those labels may mean—have room for complacency about the "rightness" of their causes: consider how quaint now seems William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" on which the common man was being crucified by Wall Street or how wrong-headed the surge of xenophobia and anti-Catholicism that swept the Ku Klux Klan into prominent city and state posts in the early 1920s.<sup>2</sup> Bryan's anti-evolutionist stance in the Scopes trial still plagues school systems in the form of Creationist challenges, and the Klan's latter-day descendants posed as much a lethal threat to later-twentieth-century "liberals" as they did to various individuals in the 1920s—for example, in the unrequited murder of a black Vietnam veteran in Oxford, North Carolina, in 1970 by a member of the KKK or the infamous 1979 attack on an anti-Klan rally by KKK members and neo-Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina, that left five dead, ten wounded, and the police department implicated in the slaughter of at least one person.<sup>3</sup>

History teaches that neither winners nor losers should gloat, for unforeseen events, not rhetorical quid pro quo, provide the emotional content of historical narrative. None could have predicted the rise of the Populist Party in 1890, the amassing of 900,000 votes by the American Communist Party in 1936, or even the assassination of Huey Long. There will always be dissent in the face of perceived injustice, whether that oppression is borne by farmers trapped in the tenancy in the Cotton Belt or by Vietnamese peasants caught in the crossfire. Losers can't claim much solace from martyrdom, either: the specter of the former liberal becoming reactionary in old age recurs regularly (librarian Louis Shores and UNC Press editor Terry Couch come to mind).<sup>4</sup> The proto-Populist Tom Watson had become a reactionary demagogue by 1913, when he launched a campaign of anti-Semitism and fear of "outside" interference in his newspaper, the *Jeffersonian*. Watson was at least partially responsible for creating the mood of rabid Christian outrage that led to the lynching of Atlanta's Leo Frank in 1915.<sup>5</sup>

Librarians are rarely motivated to consider the context of their own history, since history provides only a backdrop to the mundane workings of their service ethos. Aristotle believed that poetry was truer than history, which may explain why historical fiction is more popular than history and fictional librarians are often more attractive than real ones. Obsession with facts, so this line of thinking goes, dims the power of narrative. Ahistoricism is a necessary corollary to American anti-intellectualism, and the costs of failing to imagine or contextualize the moment in terms of precedent are high.<sup>6</sup> Describing the insipidity of the two party conventions of 2004, Joan Didion asked, "Did we not find it remarkable that the recommendation of the 9/11 Commission to concentrate our intelligence functions in the White House would have been met with general approval? . . . Did we not remember the Nixon White House and the point to which the lust for collecting intelligence had taken it? The helicopter on the lawn, the weeping daughter, the felony indictments?"<sup>7</sup>

What is true for American history generally may be even truer for southern U.S. history, with its various layers of whitewashing, vilification, and, more recently, political correctness, which, while it may begin to address the historical, economic, and social consequences of slavery, Jim Crow, and white paternalism, ultimately brings the country no closer to confronting present injustices.<sup>8</sup> An overseas reviewer's reading of Charles Lieven's *What's Wrong with America?* leaves him wondering why "so many inhabitants of the world's largest and most powerful nation have fallen prey to a culture of resentment."

The answer lies in the comprehensive defeat of Southern Confederate nationalism in the Civil War. For almost a century afterwards . . . the states of the defeated Confederacy were reduced to "an opposition of almost colonial dependence on the North and the East Coast." Until the southern [political] realignment [with the Republican Party in the 1968 presidential election], however, the grievances of the South amounted to little more than an embattled regionalism, and had scant ideological purchase in the rest of the United States, which tended to view the South as an archaic embarrassment.<sup>9</sup>

## Dragon Country

The literature of southern librarianship is thin, but historians have a more complete picture than they did only a decade or two ago. Mary Edna Anders described the southern library movement until 1950 before civil rights. Betty Callahan left a fine administrative and curricular summary of the first two decades of the Atlanta school. I treated Tommie Dora Barker's career, particularly her role as American Library Association (ALA) regional field agent for the South (1930–36), against the larger context of regional library development, while Robert Martin detailed the accomplishments of Louis Round Wilson's years at the University of North Carolina (1901–32). Mary Mallory focused on Mary Utopia Rothrock's years as director of library services for the Tennessee Valley Authority (1934–48). I also surveyed library education programs in the South through 1945 and drew comparisons between the collective profiles of graduates of the three principal library education programs serving the South. Cheryl Knott Malone investigated the founding of separate public library branches for African Americans in Louisville, Houston, and Nashville. In recent years civil rights conflict in Alabama and Louisiana as it affected libraries has been described by Toby Graham and Steven Harris, while Jean Preer has given a detailed account of the infamous 1936 Richmond ALA Conference during which many nonsouthern librarians witnessed segregation for the first time. Additionally, in this collection, Louise Robbins discusses the impact of Julius Rosenwald Fund projects in Oklahoma.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of southern library history one does not have to search back too far to find southerners depicted as the professional "Other," if for no other reason than for the hold-out state library associations of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi, which maintained racially segregated membership and assemblies even after other southern state associations had capitulated to the inevitable consequences of federal legislation. In the case of North Carolina the professional librarians association had been officially integrated since 1954, and Vera Snook of Little Rock had integrated the public library even before the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was handed down, but in the Deep South state associations, feelings ran high.<sup>11</sup> *American Libraries* editor Eric Moon recalled an evening when he and Mary Lee Bundy attended a cocktail party at an ALA

convention in the early 1960s and were "having sort of a quiet chat [on the sofa] when the brigade of southern dragons, mostly lady librarians from high up in state activities, came marching into the room and launched their usual verbal attack on me. Mary Lee got rather bored with this and got up and made to leave the room. As she did, she said 'Eric, I'll see you later,' and they picked her up and literally threw her out in the hallway."<sup>12</sup> While mutual understanding between southern and "northern" librarians (Moon is British) rarely reached such an impasse, the fracas expressed a mutual resentment that had festered among segments of southern and northern librarians since the turn of the century, most notably at the 1923 Hot Springs ALA Conference, when the atmosphere at the short-lived Library Work with Negroes Round Table became so charged that the euphemistic editor of *Public Libraries*, the ubiquitous and prolix Mary Eileen Ahern, declared that "discussion was futile," and the group disbanded.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, important though it was, race was only one of many elements that created cultural divisions between librarians of the "North" and "South." Not all native-born southern librarians were segregationist "dragons," although scant attention has been paid to the less vitriolic or conciliatory of their number. It is almost as if, by refusing to defy local custom, city ordinances, and legal precedent governing racial segregation during their careers, they do not merit attention as professionals or individuals.<sup>14</sup>

The purpose of the present essay is to outline the highlights of southern library professionalism as it emerged both distinctly and as a part of the national professional movement. Through the period 1905–60 at least one segment of southern librarianship aligned itself with liberal thought in the form of racial accommodationism, and, while modern historians have criticized southern liberal thought for its failure to confront segregation more directly, the experiences of other parts of the country that did not institute legal segregation were not necessarily more sanguine. As one southern adage had it, life for African Americans in the South was terrible from a legal point of view, but many entertained close relationships with individual whites; in the North, no legal barriers stood in the way of African Americans, but they could pass an entire life without any but the most superficial contacts with whites. Moreover, the politics of southern librarianship seemed to mirror the struggles of the national government to come to terms with race as well. Southerners were not always the stereotypical, one-dimensional, patriarchal, and bigoted caricatures portrayed in literature, film, and political humor, nor, at another ridiculous extreme, were they the facile gallant gentlemen and delicate ladies of plantation lore.

## Region, Reading, and Race

Even if one could agree on the geographic dimensions of the South, it would be difficult to agree on regional characteristics. Portions of eastern Tennessee and North Carolina have a staunch Republican base that predates the South's cross-over to the Republican Party by many decades. River ports along the Mississippi, notably Louisville and Memphis, had a more diverse population at the turn of the nineteenth century than cities in the (mainly Scots-Irish) Appalachians and Piedmont.<sup>15</sup> Some would argue that southern Florida should not be considered southern because of the twentieth-century origin of much of its development, while the unique Franco-Caribbean mix of New Orleans and much of southern Louisiana are clearly distinguishable from that of other southern states. One can count as southern the eleven states of the Southern Confederacy (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia), but what about guerrilla-ridden Kentucky and West Virginia, not to mention "bleeding" Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, southern Indiana and Illinois, and portions of the far western territories engaged in the Civil War? Does one consider Maryland and the District of Columbia as southern because domestic "help" there was still primarily African American in 1900? The U.S. Census divisions are somewhat arbitrary geographical divisions and only metaphorically political divisions, although the definitions of region have been manipulated for political ends since the Bureau of the Census began its work of enumeration.<sup>16</sup>

Some of this confusion is reflected in the attendance records of the Southeastern Library Association (SELA), for while at various times representatives from each of the eleven Confederate states have been present, the Southwestern Library Association (SWLA) included Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana along with Missouri and Oklahoma. Mary Eileen Ahern grouped the SELA and SWLA states together in her regional reports in *Public Libraries*. Barker's 1936 report, *Libraries of the South*, includes the eleven Confederate states

plus Kentucky and West Virginia, a plan I have followed in gathering statistics on the South, although any schema falls short of describing regional and indeed, local inconsistencies.<sup>17</sup>

Sociology added a level of complexity to regional definition in the 1930s. Howard W. Odum (1884–1954), professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, spent his early career gathering folklore and historical information that demonstrated the mainly African American "genius of place" in the South but by the 1930s was assembling massive amounts of economic and demographic data supporting broader interpretations of region than history or culture alone defined—no doubt a reaction to the more traditional stance of Twelve Southerners in *I'll Take My Stand* (1930).<sup>18</sup> His *Southern Regions of the United States* (1936) is not only the cornerstone of regionalism but a philosophical statement as well. Needless to say, Odum's data-driven approach to ideology partially inspired Louis Round Wilson's enumeration of regional library and educational inequities in *The Geography of Reading* (1938). There one finds all of the thirteen southern states, including Kentucky and West Virginia, at the bottom of national rankings along with the southwestern states, most tellingly in the table entitled "Index of Public Library Development, 1934."<sup>19</sup> By this time, however, few thinkers were worried about the borders of various regional frontiers as much as they were the means of survival in the Great Depression.

In the 1940s the economic crisis in the southern states abated somewhat as wartime manufacturing contracts were awarded to the South, but the energies of the regionalists were absorbed in ineffective "gradualist" attempts—mainly preaching to the choir—to ameliorate the southern racial conditions within the existing legal and social framework.<sup>20</sup> In some respects this work continued the tradition started by Will Alexander, Mary McLeod Bethune, and others in the Commission for Interracial Cooperation, and it found local expression in such behind-the-scenes organizations as Atlanta's the Hungry Club, an informal organization of prominent black businessmen that met irregularly at the celebrated Paschal's restaurant throughout the 1950s to discuss issues of race, education, and employment and deal with the white power structure through invitations to representative white businessmen and civic leaders to speak and dine.<sup>21</sup> Civil rights turmoil in the 1950s alienated many southerners, even those formerly friendly gradualists who had supported "interracial cooperation" initiatives favorable to African American citizens, if only because they felt that solutions to regional problems were being imposed on the South from outside. To others, federal mandates on racial integration were a declaration of war on white culture. As the civil rights movement progressed, even southern "liberals," friends of the civil rights movement, were derided by more radical civil rights activists as paternalistic, and their help was no longer sought. All white Americans, however, and particularly southerners, supposedly lost entitlements based on race during the period. Continued activity in the courts in racial discrimination cases proves the lie to this claim, but even so, race was only one of the factors, albeit the most contentious one, by which southern difference could be gauged.

Although the 1870 census showed numbers of southern subscription and "public" libraries, when John Eaton resigned his post as head of the Freedman's Bureau in Washington to become commissioner of education, he felt there were many errors in the 1870 report and in 1874 conducted a new, more detailed survey that painted a more desolate state of affairs. At the University of North Carolina, the South's "oldest" state university by date of founding, the library collection contained ten thousand volumes, less than half the amount of books owned by the school's two debating societies, a not unusual state of affairs in most antebellum colleges.<sup>22</sup> But few North Carolina parents wanted to send their sons to the university under the administration of a Reconstruction appointee, Solomon Pool (1832–1901), and the debating society building and collections were allowed to fall into a state of ruin on the empty campus, depredations duly noted by Cornelia Spencer Phillips, daughter of one UNC antebellum faculty member.<sup>23</sup>

Subsequent apologetics for the backward state of southern libraries were sometimes based on fragmentary evidence that most of the bibliographical holdings of the South were concentrated in the private collections of planters, dispersed and destroyed during the Civil War. Such claims may have been exaggerated. In any case, McMullen found that, compared to the general American population, the South was even poorer in total library holdings than the Far West in 1870, and it is likely that they always had been based upon their geographic

distance from publishing centers in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia and the low density of the southern population.<sup>24</sup> The South may well have had the number of libraries that the 1870 census listed, although a detailed look at the more significant of them in Commissioner of Education John Eaton's 1876 report indicates that they were small, poorly funded, and sparsely staffed.<sup>25</sup>

In southern towns and cities the effects of Reconstruction seemed to be beneficent for libraries, if the case of Marietta and Atlanta, Georgia, where new social libraries were begun by northern émigrés in 1867, are typical. At the University of South Carolina, the first black Ph.D. from Yale, the brilliant educator, lawyer, and, later, diplomat Richard T. Greener (1844–1922) produced the first catalog for the university's collection. Greener's daughter, Belle da Costa Greene (1879–1950), performed similar services for the private collections of industrialist J. P. Morgan and became a major international figure in twentieth-century special libraries, particularly rare book librarianship, although she posed as a woman of Portuguese ancestry to "pass" for an exotic rather than risk exclusion as an African American.<sup>26</sup>

As in the case of the Wilmington race riot of 1898, any period of peace could be shattered by sudden violence, both before and after Reconstruction, as some southern vigilantes did not wait for the courts to render justice; the stated crimes for which both whites and blacks were lynched included theft, rape, and murder, but often the real crimes were skin color, insubordination, political and social difference, and dissent from southern conservative ideology.<sup>27</sup> The Atlanta race riot of 1906, which occurred just as the first southern library school was graduating its first class, followed W. E. B. Du Bois's futile attempt to be served when the library opened in 1902 and a direct petition by black citizens to Carnegie for a branch in 1903. The ostensible occasion for the riot was the attack on a white woman by a black man, but a more comprehensive analysis places the crisis at the feet of Governor Hoke Smith's complicity in the attempt to disenfranchise African Americans totally, especially in light of Du Bois's campaign to improve black education in Atlanta, of which library facilities were a part.<sup>28</sup>

### **Resentments and the New South: "Henry Grady in Petticoats"**

Prosopographical research (collective biography) on librarians during the past twenty-five years has embellished and refined the impressionistic portrait of librarians left by early hagiography.<sup>29</sup> Certain characteristics, such as social class, remain constant across regional lines; yet even social class varies by exactly how that is determined.<sup>30</sup> The founder of the first southern state library commission (1897), library association (1897), public (tax-supported and Carnegie) library (1898), and library education program in the South (1905), Anne Wallace (1868–1963), exemplified New South ideals of southern charm and personality blended with iron determination to move beyond sectional differences. She was a southern version of "the New Woman"—or, as the Atlanta papers hailed her, the South's "Henry Grady in Petticoats." When announcement of the creation of a southern library school was made in 1905, *Atlanta Constitution* editor Clark Howell declared that "her latest achievement focused attention on her remarkable evolution, and marks her as an illustration of the highest type of southern woman militant, who, while retaining the native graces of femininity, has been a dominant factor in the creation of ideals of the new south."<sup>31</sup> These ambassadorial traits were valued in her successors (Julia Toombs Rankin, 1908–11, Katherine Hinton Wooten, 1911–14, Mrs. Delia Foreacre Sneed, 1914–15, and Tommie Dora Barker, 1915–1930) as well as in the alumna of the "Southern School" of Atlanta, known in later incarnations as the Library School of the Carnegie Library of Atlanta (CLSA, 1905–25) and the various titles it assumed under the aegis of Emory University (1926–88). All of these women were middle to upper middle class in origin, although some of their families had lost property and income in the Civil War. Money or educational attainment did not determine their status as much as did their standing in the community based partially on the service records of male relatives in the Civil War, the positions of their fathers in city or town government, or simply their existence as a "known quantity" in the community together with the appearance of impeccable propriety and ladyhood.

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Since all students at the CLSA were female until 1930, it was assumed as a matter of course that they would meet local expectations of comport, with all of the behavioral qualifications that implied. Notabledistinguishing features of the collective profile of CLSA directors and graduates include marriage rate (about twice as high as that of the Illinois and New York State Library School, nearly half the graduates), their generally sporadic and uneven formal educational attainments (described by one graduate as "more their misfortune than their fault"),<sup>32</sup> and their general professional predisposition, compared to graduates of other programs, to stay in the region where they were born (see [table 1](#)). Behind this criticism, voiced by C. C. Williamson in the privately circulated version of his famous 1923 report, lay the inbred nature of the program: graduates were soon working in the Atlanta library, supervising the practicum work of still more Atlanta students.<sup>33</sup>

**TABLE 1**  
**CHARACTERISTICS OF GRADUATES OF**  
**THREE MAJOR LIBRARY EDUCATION PROGRAMS**  
**SUPPLYING SOUTHERN LIBRARY PROFESSIONALS**  
**EXPRESSED IN PERCENT**

	University of Illinois(ILS) ca. 1927 (n=77)	New York State Library School (NYSLS) 1887-1926 (n=136)	Carnegie Library School of Atlanta (CLSA) 1906-1930 (n=322)
Percent male	12	17	0
Stayed in native region	37	41	97.5
Graduate education	38	25	5
Marriage	29	28	55
Left profession	20	22	35

*Source:* James V. Carmichael, Jr., "Southerners in the North and Northerners in the South: The Impact of the Library School at the University of Illinois on Southern Librarianship," in *Women's Work: Vision and Change in Librarianship, Occasional Papers* nos. 196-97 (Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, July 1994), 40, 44.

Only one of the CLSA graduates (Mattie Bibb, CLSA, 1906) listed in the first edition of *Who's Who in Library Service* mentioned membership in the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), which, in the opening decades of the century, was the most successful women's voluntary organization in the South, outnumbering even southern chapters of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in terms of membership.<sup>34</sup> Generally, Confederate ancestry was downplayed in better Atlanta society and in the correspondence with library school graduates and their references, although the descriptor "good family" often comprised this attribute. It was considered somewhat vulgar to discuss the war in New South Atlanta, however. Although the files of CLSA contain only one passing reference to women's suffrage, none of the directors or students were members of antisuffrage organizations, either (another popular southernconservative cause of the period when granting women's vote was seen as encouraging the black vote as well), and one must look for other signifiers to characterize their beliefs.<sup>35</sup>

The southern library movement began in 1895 with the calling together of a Second Congress of Women Librarians at the Atlanta Cotton States Exhibition. Anne Wallace, librarian of the Young Men's Library Association from 1892 and the energy and initiative behind library developments of the subsequent decade in Georgia, also drew ALA to Atlanta for its 1899 conference. She was the visionary of the southern library movement and, in modern terms, a southern intellectual. She was a contributor to *Alkahest* (billed as "the only

magazine published in the South") along with writer Harry Stillwell Edwards of *Eneas Africanus* fame.<sup>36</sup> She was also program chairman of the Monday Evening Club, a literary and artistic organization that met in the homes of prominent Atlanta families of the era whose hosts were members.<sup>37</sup> She had a healthy veneration for celebrity and corresponded in apparently fatuous terms with authors Richard Harding Davis and Thomas Nelson Page, not to mention local authors like Logan Bleckley and Joel Chandler Harris. When biographer Burton Kendrick contacted her for correspondence and reminiscences of Andrew Carnegie, she forwarded the originals of her correspondence and prepared voluminous notes and chronologies, though Kendrick barely treated library philanthropy in his two-volume set and apparently made no use of Wallace's memorabilia.<sup>38</sup> The exercise served a didactic purpose in that it left her vivid impressions of Carnegie himself, whom she described as "personal, small, dapper, ruddy, brisk[,] kindly, canny, brusque, testy[,] Good judge of human nature."<sup>39</sup>

Jealousy of Wallace such as that expressed by Ada Alice Jones—an old Dewey protégée—was understandable but unfair. Jones complained that she had never seen "a woman so eulogized in public assemblies, in her presence" and intimated that "unpleasant comments might be made" about the (false) report, circulated in the *Pittsburgh Gazette Times* and the *Andalusia, Alabama News*, among others, stating that Carnegie had given the bride a wedding gift of \$100,000. As Jones quipped, "Alice Roosevelt had a fortune left her, but didn't that man die first?"<sup>40</sup> Actually, the amount of the gift was \$5,000, still a grand sum in those days and one that Wallace used to buy a home in Massachusetts when she and her husband settled down. Wallace's relationship with Carnegie was platonic, of course: Carnegie was an effulgently faithful husband and even expressed alarm when the papers reported that two Atlanta matrons had given him motherly pecks on the cheek in thanking him for his beneficence to Atlanta in 1903 ("never heard of it—am surprised—never wrote a line to any one on the subject").<sup>41</sup> It is true that Wallace took some pride in her way with Carnegie, and he was unabashed in his liking for her personally, as a Scots descendant and as a southerner, "warm-blooded animal. Heart big."<sup>42</sup>

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Carnegie admired Wallace's pluck, directness, and courage in personally approaching him for additional appropriations of \$25,000 in 1899 and \$20,000 in 1901 when the construction of the new public library had run into cost overruns, but she did so only at the behest of the board of trustees. (The furnishings and equipment allotted in 1901 was spent with the Library Bureau, of which her future intended, Max Franklyn Howland, had just been appointed the first Atlanta representative.) The library school was Wallace's own idea, nurtured by Melvil Dewey, but she again obtained trustee approval before discussing it with Carnegie. Both Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie took parental pride in such a determined, intelligent young woman, and when he wrote "My dear Friend" to congratulate her and announce her wedding gift, he perhaps expressed his true feelings best:

. . . He can't be too good for you, that's certain. . . .

Your saintly Mother's face and form come before me as I write. You remained by her side as I did at mine until she passed[;] the best daughter makes the best wife. I am sure your married life, like mine, will be blessed. . . .

Always your friend, Andrew Carnegie<sup>43</sup>

While Wallace was praised in the library press for her feminine charms and beauty, she was certainly more handsome than beautiful. She was the first woman in Georgia to be granted a driver's license. She also smoked cigarettes until she married in 1908, albeit without inhaling.<sup>44</sup> Daughter of a prominent Confederate veteran, Wallace was a product of New South ideology, as were her successors. Wallace's immediate successor, Julia Rankin, was the niece of Confederate Senator Robert Toombs. Her father, bank director Dr. J. W. Rankin, was also a Confederate veteran and had been among Henry Grady's accompanying party in a private train car when he gave his last speech in Boston in 1889 describing "The Race Problem in the South."<sup>45</sup>

Advocates of New South thinking championed a politically progressive, commercially successful, and unembittered new South. They were relatively exempt from the suspicion of biased, self-pitying, and backward-looking separatism by northern officials, who viewed them with cordiality rather than condescension. The widow Sneed, principal of CLSA from 1906 to 1914, was among the most trusted southern confidantes of Andrew Carnegie's secretary, James Bertram, and advised him on southern grants for library buildings.<sup>46</sup> After she remarried in 1915 and retired as director of the library and CLSA, she continued to be consulted on southern library affairs, all the while retaining a prominent social position among the group of southern expatriates living in New York.<sup>47</sup>

Wallace's success in attracting ALA to the South in 1899 for its annual conference followed closely on her securing Carnegie's grant of \$100,000 for a public library. ALA Secretary H. J. Carr expressed his "doubts" to President W. C. Lane about the topic of "Negro Education" for the program "unless it be a very broad minded paper and touching mostly on the place of the library as part of the desired scheme to educate the negro."<sup>48</sup> When Lane proposed speaking with W. E. B. Du Bois—"(colored) a Harvard graduate & professor at Atlanta & a delightful cultivated gentleman. If he were at a meeting at the North I should not hesitate to ask him to give us a paper & we could be sure of something worth hearing"—it was as if the 1895 Cotton States Exhibition, with its infamous "Atlanta Compromise" speech by Booker T. Washington, had never happened.<sup>49</sup> Wallace gave Carr her opinion about "a certain line of library extension" (library service to African Americans), and while she claimed the subject had been discussed ad infinitum at Atlanta board of directors meetings, no course of action had been proposed. She actively opposed any discussion of any aspect of library service to African Americans at the conference "because to bring it in its crude shape before the national association, where partisans would make political capital of it, would prove inimical to both white and negro interests. For ten years I have studied the subject and I hope the next ten will see its solution."<sup>50</sup>

For some northern delegates, however, the offending article was not the absence of library services for blacks but *separate* services for blacks. J. C. Maule in Bristol, Connecticut, told Carr that "the people of Atlanta were carrying the race question to the extreme of seriously proposing the establishment of separate libraries for whites and blacks" and that it would be "a reproach to the cause" of free library service if "color is dragged into library work." He urged Carr as ALA secretary to resist any "'niminy-piminy' compromising with the spirit at the root of this relic of a barbarous past" and the organization "to set its face like flint against this whole miserable race question."<sup>51</sup> Wallace admitted that "a section of the country wholly devoted to the Jeffersonian theory and suspicious of any kind of centralization" was difficult to cultivate but claimed that her own attitude toward ALA, "composed almost entirely of northern people," was identical to her attitude toward southerners: she only wanted a chance to demonstrate the benefits of free library service.<sup>52</sup> Carr reassured her that the association wanted to be "very careful and conservative on the negro question." Educating the Negro was a great problem "that confronts *the South* . . . and does not warrant hasty or ill-advised expressions of opinions or theories"<sup>53</sup> (emphasis added), but Carr admitted to Maule that his own experience led him to believe that "if the Atlanta people can once be persuaded to open the library free to all colors, then such action will . . . eventually do much to open like and other rights to all the negroes of the South."<sup>54</sup> Wallace suspected that President Lane considered her "a regular fire-eater" but that his opinion would be changed once he had seen "our standpoint" (i.e., visited Atlanta). Shortly, Lane announced to Carr that "the question of Negro Education, or the Negro in relation to Libraries, we will leave untouched altogether."<sup>55</sup> Thus, the topic of race in librarianship was buried in national debate for nearly two decades, and after the 1899 conference it was nearly a century before ALA met in Atlanta again.

## The Propriety of "Fire-Eaters"

There were clear indications of what was expected of the successful library school graduate in conforming to the southern code. Atlanta schools such as Girls' High School (GHS) and Washington Seminary, from which a majority of applicants were funneled, expected not just a belle but a belle with dignity. Jessie Muse, principal of GHS, told *Atlanta Journal* reporter Margaret Mitchell in 1923 that she would send home any girl who persisted



in painting her face "with cheeks of such colors as were never seen on land or sea and lips dripping vermillion."<sup>56</sup> The apogee of the educational experience at GHS was Miss Muse's course on "How to Be a Lady," the feminine equivalent of moral philosophy courses of the sort taught by college presidents in the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

Limits set on unacceptable behavior did not prevent the librarians from testing them. The third librarian of Atlanta's public library, Katherine Hinton Wooten, was forced to resign after she went public with a salary complaint to the Atlanta papers; this public display clearly violated Wallace's established tradition of the librarian working assiduously through the committee structure of the board of trustees, although her successor, Delia Foreacre Sneed, no doubt exaggerated the importance of this code when she stated that Wooten had ruined herself forever in the library world.<sup>58</sup> (Wooten finished her career in the Civil Service as librarian for the Army War Museum in Washington, D.C., where salary upgrades were less capricious than in Atlanta.) At any rate, public displays of emotion or even public disagreement were nonnegotiable items of conduct. It seems remarkable now that the race riot of 1906 merited not a single mention in the voluminous school correspondence of that year. Anne Carroll Moore, famed storytelling wizard of the New York Public Library, might very well visit her former student, Leo Frank, in the Fulton County Jail in 1914, but an Atlanta librarian could not risk accompanying her: it simply wasn't done.<sup>59</sup> Other infractions of the school's code were as slight as lying about one's age on an application form, which resulted in the expulsion of one student in 1928 under Barker's more bureaucratic regime. Wallace, however, had admitted Sarah Louisiana Manypenny into the class of 1906 even though the applicant refused to state her age, and one of the class's notable graduates withheld the same information from Charles C. Williamson for *Who's Who in Library Service*. Withholding this information was permitted to a lady, therefore, but not the willful distortion of that information. More serious was the problem employee who might blow up at a supervisor; one such employee, a CLSA graduate (1913) with fifteen years of service, was simply fired by Barker for her lack of repentance when Barker asked her to apologize to her supervisor—after, of course, Barker had obtained legal opinion from the city's lawyer.<sup>60</sup>

Fortunately for posterity, protest against the austere if not sexually repressed boarding school atmosphere that prevailed at the school was not long in coming. Frances Newman (CLSA, 1913), whose book reviews, literary columns, and social notes for the Atlanta papers received high praise from H. L. Mencken and James Branch Cabell and eventually won her national fame, left the bitterly satiric roman à clef, *Dead Lovers Are Faithful Lovers* (1928), whose thinly veiled caricatures of Barker, Sneed, Fannie Hinton (librarian of Atlanta, 1936–48), and others thus insured their place in the southern feminist pantheon while providing biting precise and disparaging commentary on the dreadful state of library ethics at a time when such codes were confused with bureaucratic protocol.

## Squaring Off

Wallace vied with Thomas M. Owen of Alabama (1866–1920) for early primacy of the southern library education market, and by 1911, after only two years, he had discontinued summer training courses. In spite of his leadership role in creating the nation's first state archives, catty critic Brendan Gill, biographer of Owen's famous niece, actress Tallulah Bankhead, claimed that Alabama supported his work only because his wife, "that inexhaustible busybody Marie Bankhead Owen, wanted a suitable place to store her family memorabilia," including that of her father, U.S. Senator John H. Bankhead II, and her uncle, Congressman William Bankhead.<sup>61</sup> Even so, the Atlanta program was eventually derided by southern librarians who had obtained a "real" degree in programs of the North and Midwest such as Mary Utopia Rothrock of Knoxville (New York State Library School, 1914), who privately exchanged disparaging remarks about the Atlanta program with Library of Congress Director Herbert Putnam and had her own ambitions for a library education program closer in Tennessee.

In all other respects successful, Wallace could never devise an organizing principle that would consolidate southern library interests while promoting professionalization and the national library movement. A renegade

element was always at hand. A tristate library meeting of Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee at the Carnegie Library

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of Atlanta on 8–9 December 1905 endorsed strong southern state associations supported by the ALA, but Hannah Johnson (1878–1955), through a resolution introduced by George H. Baskette (1845–1927?), librarian of Nashville, wanted independence from ALA in the form of a southern library association affiliated with the Southern Education Board. Wallace was "mortified that our northern friends should hear such talk from a southern gentleman." "Ever since the Civil War the best element of us have tried to abolish sectional feeling and organization, political or educational. This [sectional feeling] is true of the Southern Education Board which has not the support of our best college men. . . . I could not take part in any organization that separated the South from other sections of the country," Wallace told Dewey.<sup>62</sup> The basis of her comments was Baskette's unbridled criticism of ALA as a "mutual admiration society" and "junketing party." William Harden of Savannah (1844–1936), like Baskette a Civil War veteran, opposed the Tennessee motion, and Annie F. Petty of North Carolina (1871–1962) introduced a resolution of nonsupport "at this time." Dewey consoled Wallace and dismissed the "crisis" as "largely a matter of names."<sup>63</sup> Tennessee moved forward with its independent plan, and in 1920, when Tommie Dora Barker, Charlotte Templeton of the Georgia Library Commission, and Mary Utopia Rothrock of Knoxville decided that the time was right for a southern association, they encountered no objections from anyone except a mild rebuke from *Public Libraries*, whose editor worried that a regional association might weaken the national one.

Templeton was the unacknowledged statesman of this effort. Her successful early career at the Nebraska State Library Commission (1906–19) had familiarized her with the need for any and all means of cooperation. Rothrock, on the other hand, saw a chance to assert Tennessee's claim to be the "founder" of the regional library association idea (Mary Hannah Johnson had even gone so far as to propose to Dewey that Signal Mountain might become a southern Lake Placid) and hosted the first two formal meetings in 1924 and 1926, hoping, no doubt, that Signal Mountain would become the association's permanent home.<sup>64</sup> Barker was more concerned about broad representation: as president of the Georgia Library Association (1919–21) she had moved the GLA meeting out of Atlanta to southern Georgia for the first time. In 1928, when she became president of the flourishing Southeastern Library Association, she moved the meeting from the Signal Mountain area to Biloxi and on several other occasions muffled Rothrock's ambitions, especially when Barker was elected ALA regional field agent for the South, Templeton having declined the honor. Rothrock was livid. The position had been recommended to the foundations and ALA by a SELA Policy Committee, created on the eve of the Great Depression to come up with a long-term plan for southern library development after a half-million-dollar Rosenwald grant was announced. Rothrock had abstained from attending the Biloxi meeting and was not on hand when the Chapel Hill resolutions took place. She registered her reaction, however, in an address given fifteen years later to SELA's Planning Committee in 1946, gathered to consider African American membership in SELA to insure a unified regional approach to the "problems related to Negro library service." She stated that "the broad authority given to this [Policy] committee aroused the resentment of some people who were not on the inside and who felt that the ALA and a few others were dictating the program for the region. This led to the discontinuance of the committee [in 1938]."<sup>65</sup>

By 1934, however, when Rothrock became director of libraries for the Tennessee Valley Authority, she had begun to shed her reputation for being "agin most things," and, as Louis Round Wilson told Barker in 1935, she was now detached from particular state and city library interests and "thinking in terms of the southern region."<sup>66</sup> The same mellowing effect may have been at work on Anne Wallace's memory at the time she recapitulated the events of the 1905 conference for Atlanta's first male librarian on the occasion of the opening of the first major addition to the Carnegie Library building. She told him that CLSA had been the site of "the first annual meeting of the Southeastern Library Association[,] which had been organized in East Tennessee by a handful of library enthusiasts." The rivalries had cooled, and the ideology had dimmed on both sides.<sup>67</sup>

Rothrock became the first ALA president born and then working in the South in 1946, seventy years after the founding of ALA.<sup>68</sup>

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More disturbing to Barker than regional primacy was the state of southern representation on ALA's various committees. Compared with other regions, the South had the highest percentage ALA membership as a proportion of all librarians in the 1930 census count, the second highest in 1920, and the third highest in 1940 (see [table 2](#)). Among the committees (appointed) before 1920 one can name only Thomas M. Owen (Alabama), Henry R. McIlwaine (Virginia), and Charlotte Templeton (Arkansas) as native-born southerners. Others listed as

**TABLE 2**  
**NUMBER OF LIBRARIANS, PERCENT OF NATIONAL**  
**TOTAL, PERCENT ALA MEMBERS FOR**  
**1920, 1930, AND 1940 BY REGION**

	Librarians	Percent	Percent ALA
1920			
Northeast	6,288	42.72	27.53
Middle states	4,787	32.5	231.17
Northwest	684	4.65	31.87
Far West	1,761	11.95	21.98
Southwest	355	2.41	28.45
Southeast	845	5.74	28.99
Total	14,720	100.00	
1930			
Northeast	10,984	38.35	40.57
Middle states	9,425	32.91	42.44
Northwest	1,217	4.25	38.70
Far West	3,890	13.58	40.28
Southwest	1,000	3.49	31.90
Southeast	2,122	7.41	46.42
Total	28,638	100.00	
1940			
Northeast	12,793	36.55	41.94
Middle states	10,548	30.13	48.95
Northwest	1,475	4.21	40.14
Far West	4,438	12.66	33.66
Southwest	1,767	5.05	29.32
Southeast	3,982	11.38	41.16
Total	35,003	100.00	

*Source: The ALA Handbook for 1920, 1930, and 1940; United States Bureau of the Census, census for 1920, 1930, and 1940.*

representing southern libraries were born and educated outside theregion: William F. Yust (Missouri), Nathaniel L. Goodrich (New Hampshire), Seymour Thompson (Washington, D.C.), Lloyd Josselyn(Massachusetts), and Carl Milam (Kansas). The appointment of Birmingham's Carl Milam as ALA executive secretary after his highly successful service with the Committee of Five in the War Office of ALA signaled a change in the participation of southerners, native born or not, in committee work: in 1920, Barker, Lila May Chapman, and Julia Ideson of Houston, Texas, were appointed to the Membership Committee. In the same year Rothrock and Fannie Rawson of the Kentucky Library Commission were appointed to the Legislation Com-mittee, Barker to the Public Documents Committee, Marilla Freeman (Alabama) to the Organizations Committee, and Charles Stone of Peabody in Tennessee to the Recruiting for Library Service Committee.<sup>69</sup> It is tempting to see the hand

of Louis Round Wilson at work behind all of these appointments, since he already had the ear of the foundations and Milam, but so far no evidence of Wilson's influence at this early date has surfaced.

The influx of northern male talent into southern libraries began before the 1905 tristate conference and escalated through the 1920s. In some cases, like that of Duncan Burnet, marriage to a CLSA girl (Inez Daughtry, 1908) sealed his commitment to the region. In other cases, the southern salary levels, reported in depth in the 1920 *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, could not keep pace with other regions of the country, and top southern library positions were merely a step to a plum slot in libraries of the North, Midwest, or Far West. More indicative of success in the southern region than salary was sensitivity to the race question and respect for the professional history that explained southern attitudes. Thus, Harold Brigham of New Jersey, then director of the Cossitt Library in Memphis, unwittingly walked into a minefield when he presented to the Tennessee Library Association the results of SELA policy initiatives in 1930. Mary E. Baker, an ally of Rothrock in most state and regional policy, verbally thrashed Brigham before the assembled TLA conferees when he announced the appointment of Tommie Dora Barker as ALA regional field agent for the South.<sup>70</sup>

As has been observed elsewhere, northern and midwestern librarians often found the politics of southern libraries and the communities they served untenably "hot," but they were not the only ones who suffered. Arthur Curry, a Texas native who graduated from the library program at Illinois in 1933, accepted a position under Mary Craig Gardner, Scottish-born assistant to the late Frank Patten (1899–1934), a Wisconsin native and a graduate of Dewey's first class. At the Rosenberg Library of Galveston, Texas, Patten had never updated his cataloging methods, and Gardner wanted to keep it that way. The library routinely censored anything that did not agree with their conservative, anti-New Deal views. When it became common knowledge that Curry voted for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, in the 1936 presidential election, he was asked to resign, and Curry took a long sabbatical from library work.<sup>71</sup> As Robbins found to be the case with Ruth Brown in Oklahoma, native-born liberals were often more at risk than northern or foreign-born conservatives.<sup>72</sup>

## Conclusion

Regional resentment is certainly not dead, neither in the South nor in the North. One anonymous and very profane website lists grievances of one New Englander: the highest taxes are paid by the North; the bulk of benefits goes to the South; in the Bible Belt the divorce rate is highest; in Massachusetts (largely Catholic) it is lowest, followed by other states that voted Democratic in 2004.<sup>73</sup> The litany continues with high southern murder rates, car accidents, religious hypocrisy, and mistrust of the federal government that pays for everything from southern stop signs to the TVA. Usually, however, opinions such as these are obscured by the larger U.S. picture: a plethora of violence throughout the country, the state of (or lack of) discipline in public schools, outsourcing of industry to foreign nations with cheaper labor rates, and reminders to consume from the networks.

Writer Charles Simic recently returned to the South for the first time since 1961 to visit the sites photographed and described by James Agee and Walker Evans in their classic account of the Great Depression.<sup>74</sup> He found the scenes of social blight in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and elsewhere if anything more abandoned and desolate than they had been in 1936. Only now descendants of these former victims of the tenancy system of farm labor worked in minimum wage jobs in strip malls and casinos hours away from their homes. He heard local inhabitants lambaste the lack of patriotism among critics of the current administration. As expected, he encountered pride in gun ownership and adherence to hellfire of the "Rapture" variety.<sup>75</sup> As one woman from southern Georgia told him, "Atlanta is not the South."<sup>76</sup>

Hindsight grants posterity perceptions that participants in historical events rarely perceive: thus race is now seen as more a social construct than a reality, more a psychological barrier than a legal one; the definition of intelligence defies all attempts to pinpoint or replicate it; metascience bears prejudice with its assumptions and findings;<sup>77</sup> technological progress demolishes the most cherished shibboleths. One can almost be grateful to the

southern states for the brand of colorful demagoguery that entertained the nation with the shenanigans of "Kingfish" Huey Long, "Pappy" "Pass the Biscuits" O'Daniel, "Ma and Pa" Ferguson, Marie Bankhead Owens, "Tiger Lady of the Archives," and their ilk, even if one must also deplore the ideology they represented and honor the memory of those they oppressed. Still, demagoguery is good show business.

In fact, figures like Wallace are likely to fade from historical memory simply because they were not more outrageous. Wallace's fundamental accomplishment—demonstrating the benefits of free public library service to the people of Atlanta—will be remembered long after her name ceases to be associated with it.<sup>78</sup> Librarianship is a service profession, after all, and service in its best sense is essentially anonymous. Yet Wallace's unrealized dream of libraries in the southern states operating under the ALA umbrella was realized by one of her successors. By 1935 Barker had worked tirelessly with every southern state to secure a state plan, all of which became a part of ALA's national plan. As for "the southern problem," Barker was appointed parliamentarian of the Georgia Library Association from 1951 to 1957 and served a leading role on the committee that resolved the desegregation crisis in GLA when Elton J. Josey was denied membership. She helped to convince hold-outs like her protégée Sarah Lewis Jones (1902–86; director of the Textbook and Library Division of the Georgia Board of Education), who had been the most vocal opponent in denying Josey membership, *and* in announcing his acceptance, of the wisdom of concession. Unfortunately, because Barker was decorous, strong-minded, a bureaucrat of the first order, and, as one acquaintance put it, "a brown blanket on any situation,"<sup>79</sup> she may seem increasingly obscure as reading gives way to the popularity of other media that may or may not be the exclusive province of librarians. Her accomplishments, however, are inviolate. Whatever course is pursued in the new millennium, and however human indifference may distort the historical record, the principles of library service are more fully established in one part of the world because of her efforts.

## Endnotes

I would like to thank archivists who made identification of persons in the 1905 photograph possible and supplied invaluable information: Ed Gleaves, head, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville; Garret Gietzen and John Franch, ALA Archives, Urbana, Illinois; Sue Loper and Carol Kaplan, Nashville Public Library, Nashville, Tennessee. I am also deeply indebted to Wayne Wiegand, who shared his Dewey, Jones, and Carr files with me; to the late Wallace Howland (1909–86), who permitted me to copy his mother's papers and photographs; and to Lee Shiflett for incalculable editorial help.

1. John F. Marzalek, *The Petticoat Affair: Manners, Mutiny and Sex in Andrew Jackson's White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); James W. Loewen, *Lies across America: What the Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: Free Press, 1999); Pamela Tyler, "A Warm Personal Friend, or Worse Than Hitler? How Southern Women Viewed Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933–1945," in Bruce L. Clayton and John A. Salmond, eds., *"Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph": Southern Women, Their Institutions, and Their Communities* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2003), 181–200.

2. Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915–1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

3. Timothy B. Tyson, *Blood Done Sign My Name* (New York: Crown, 2004); Eric Collins, "Security Measures Beefed Up for March," *Greensboro News & Record*, 13 November 2004.

4. Lee Shiflett, *Louis Shores: Defining Educational Librarianship* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1996), 244 ff.

5. Steve Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank* (New York: Pantheon, 2000). Frank, manager of a pencil manufacturing plant, was accused of raping and strangling thirteen-year-old laborer Mary Phagan. World opinion, represented by telegrams from such prominent figures as Theodore Roosevelt, among others, challenged the guilty verdict, and Governor Slaton commuted Frank's death sentence to life imprisonment. Soon thereafter a posse composed of prominent Cobb County citizens dragged Frank from the Milledgeville State Prison and hanged him in Marietta, where Phagan was born and

buried. Frank Conley, a black janitor, later confessed to the crime, but it is clear that the police department and the prosecution were complicit in collusion with Conley, thus demonstrating that when under attack from "outside forces" southerners would band together in a fashion across the color line.

6. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Knopf, 1963).

7. Joan Didion, "The Politics of the 'New Normal' America," *New York Review of Books* 51 (21 October 2004).

8. For example, "Church Says It Is Not 'Religious Right,'" *Greensboro News & Record*, 20 November 2004, B8 ([www.news-record.com/news/religion](http://www.news-record.com/news/religion)) describes an African American congregation in Memphis that supports limiting abortion rights and gay marriage but disassociates itself from the Religious Right, which was born, says the church's presiding bishop, "out of the fact that African Americans were making too many gains." Ironically, the church sees no contradiction in limiting the civil rights of other citizens while claiming their own civil rights have been abridged.

9. Colin Kidd, "My God Was Bigger Than His," *London Review of Books*, 4 November 2004: 17. The book was titled *What's Wrong with Kansas?* in the United States.

10. Mary Edna Anders, "The Development of Public Library Service in the Southeastern States, 1895–1950," D.L.S. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958; Betty E. Callahan, "The Carnegie Library School of Atlanta (1905–1925)," *Library Quarterly* 37 (April 1967): 149–79; James V. Carmichael, Jr., "Tommie Dora Barker and Southern Librarianship," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988; James V. Carmichael, Jr., "Women in Southern Library Education, 1905–1945," *Library Quarterly* 62 (April 1992): 169–216; James V. Carmichael, Jr., "Southerners in the North and Northerners in the South: The Impact of the Library School of the University of Illinois on Southern Librarianship," in University of Illinois *Occasional Papers*, nos. 196–97 (July 1994): 27–104; Mary L. Mallory, "The Rare Vision of Mary Utopia Rothrock: Organizing Regional Library Services in the Tennessee Valley," *Library Quarterly* 65 (January 1995): 62–88; Robert S. Martin, "Louis Round Wilson at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1901–1932," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988; Cheryl Knott Malone, "Louisville Free Public Library's Racially Segregated Branches, 1905–35," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 93, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 159–79, "Autonomy and Accommodation: Houston's Colored Carnegie Library, 1907–1922," *Libraries & Culture* 34 (Spring 1999): 95–112, "Books for Black Children: Public Library Collections in Louisville and Nashville, 1915–1925," *Library Quarterly* 70 (April 2000): 179–200, and "Quiet Pioneers: Black Women Public Librarians in the Segregated South," *Vitae Scholasticae* (Spring 2000): 69–86; Toby Graham, "Public Librarians and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1955–1965," *Library Quarterly* 71 (January 2001): 1–27; Steven R. Harris, "Civil Rights in the Louisiana Library Association: Stumbling toward Integration," *Libraries & Culture* 38 (Fall 2003) 322–50; Jean L. Preer, "This Year—Richmond! The 1936 Meeting of the American Library Association," *Libraries & Culture* 39 (Spring 2004): 137–60; Louise S. Robbins, "Changing the Geography of Reading in a Southern Border State: The Rosenwald Fund and the WPA in Oklahoma," *Libraries & Culture*, this issue.

11. Plummer Alston Jones, Jr., *North Carolina Library Association Centennial Handbook, 1904–2004* (Charlotte: NCLA, 2004), 21; Vera Snook file, student files, Library School of the University of Illinois, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana.

12. Eric Moon with Frederick Stielow, "The Library Press and Eric Moon: An Interview," in Mary Lee Bundy and Frederick Stielow, *Activism in American Librarianship, 1962–1973* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1987), 99–111, 103.

13. American Library Association, Library Work with Negroes Round Table, "Report," *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 16 (July 1922): 361–66; *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 17 (July 1923): 278.

14. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 144, includes the story of Julia Morgan, reference librarian at the Montgomery Public Library, who wrote a newspaper letter defending Rosa Parks and was perhaps driven to suicide by public ostracism. Toby Graham, "Public Librarians and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama, 1955–1965," *Library Quarterly* 71 (January 2001): 1–27, discusses the extremes of reaction to the threat of integration in three Alabama public libraries, including the case of Patricia Blalock in Selma, who dragged her rather startled board along to anticipate any crisis before it ever occurred.
15. *The Tenth Census of the United States, 1910*, vols. 2 and 3: *Population* shows the southeastern states with a total foreign-born population of less than 5 percent. Atlanta (pop. 154,839, of which 10,874 were foreign born or have one or both parents who were foreign born, for a total of 7 percent foreign born) and Richmond (9 percent foreign born) might be said to be "typical" southern cities, while Louisville (31 percent foreign born) and Memphis (14 percent) are more atypical.
16. Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 270, for example, shows discrepancies in New Deal federal administrative districts.
17. Tommie Dora Barker, *Libraries of the South: A Report on Developments, 1930–1935* (Chicago: American Library Association and the Carnegie Corporation, 1936).
18. See Howard W. Odum, *Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negroes* (Worcester, Mass., [1909?]), *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro: Research into the Conditions of the Negro Race in Southern Towns* (New York: Columbia University, 1910), with Guy B. Johnson, *The Negro and His Songs: A Study of the Typical in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1925), with Guy B. Johnson, *Negro Workaday Songs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), *Rainbow Round My Shoulder: The Blue Trail of Black Ulysses* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928), *Wings on My Feet: Black Ulysses at the Wars* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929), *An American Epoch: Southern Portraiture in the National Picture* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930), and *Cold Blue Moon: Black Ulysses Afar Off* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931).
19. Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1930, 1977). See Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, esp. 272: "North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska Are Not 'Middle States'"; Louis R. Wilson, *The Geography of Reading: A Study of the Status and Development of Public Libraries in the United States* (Chicago: American Library Association and the University of Illinois Press, 1938), 183.
20. The gradualist/accommodationist terminology is that employed by Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Robert L. Dorman, *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), sums up the legacy of regionalism in an epilogue (307–26).
21. Harold W. Martin, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events: Volume III: Years of Change and Challenge, 1940–1976* (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Museum; Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 367; John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1994).
22. Thomas S. Harding, *The College Society Libraries: Their Contributions to Higher Education in the United States, 1815–1876* (New York: Pageant Press, 1971), 3.
23. *Selected Papers of Cornelia Phillips Spencer*, edited with an introduction by Louis R. Wilson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 668–70.



24. W. D. Houlette, "Plantation and Parish Libraries in the Old South," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1933; W. R. Patrick, "Literature in the Louisiana Plantation Home Prior to 1861," Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1937; Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries Before 1876*, Beta Phi Mu Monograph Series no. 6 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 51, 155–59.

25. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States of America; Their History, Condition, and Management: Special Report; Part I* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1876), 1012–142.

26. "Richard T. Greener" and "Belle da Costa Greene," *American National Biography Online*. Jean Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York: Random House, 1999), was the first to discover the relationship between Greene and Greener. She simply took the trouble to check Greene's birth certificate in Virginia.

27. Richard E. Nisbett, *Culture of Honor: The Psychology of Violence in the South* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996); Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Tyson, *Blood Done Sign My Name*, passim.

28. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., *Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967); Glenn W. Rainey, "The Race Riot of 1906 in Atlanta," master's thesis, Emory University, 1929; Gerald Horne and Mary Young, *W. E. B. Du Bois: An Encyclopedia* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), 19–22. Wallace saved shelving from the YMLA for the planned new branch for African Americans, but neither land nor an agreement of support was forthcoming until 1921.

29. Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876–1920* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 173–85; Lorie Roy, "Illinois Library School Graduates, 1898–1908," paper presented at the Library History Round Table, American Library Association annual meeting, Chicago, 1985, are the earliest two examples in the library history field. Other practitioners include Wayne Wiegand and Dorothy Steffens, "Members of the Club: A Look at One Hundred ALA Presidents," University of Illinois Graduate School of Library and Information Science *Occasional Papers Number 182* (April 1988); Joanne E. Passet, *Cultural Crusaders: Women Librarians of the American West, 1900–1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); and Carmichael, in the works cited in note 10.

30. Daniel S. Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) relates the southern ethos of class to intellectual currents in the South; Anne F. Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Anne T. Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865–1895* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003).

31. "The New Library School" (editorial), *Atlanta Constitution*, 15 April 1905.

32. Lucille Virden to Julia Rankin, 14 June 1910, Virden file, CLSA student files, Carnegie Library of Atlanta, Special Collections, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta. Hereafter CLSA.

33. Charles C. Williamson, *Training for Library Service: A Report Prepared for the Carnegie Corporation of New York* (New York, 1923); Sarah K. Vann, *The Williamson Reports of 1921 and 1923* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1971).

34. Karen L. Cox, "The Rise of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1894–1914," in Clayton and Salmond, *Lives Full of Struggle and Triumph*, 126–46, 126: the total membership was over 30,000.

35. Marie Bankhead Owen (1869–1958), wife of Thomas M. Owen and director of the Alabama Archives from Dr. Owen's death in 1920 until 1955, was an antisuffragist and strong-minded about the way state history was interpreted, particularly by outsiders. See her Alabama Hall of Fame entry, <http://www.awhf.org/owen.html>,

and the link "Magazine Tells of How Marie Bankhead Owen Almost Killed the WPA Guide to Alabama," accessed 17 December 2004.

36. Harry Stillwell Edwards, *Eneas Africanus* (Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke, 1919). This story of a Georgia freedman was reprinted many times in Georgia, Florida, Texas, New York, and Toronto. The latest edition listed on WorldCat is dated 1976.

37. Anne Wallace, "Edward Fitzgerald," *Alkahest* 3, Thanksgiving number (November 1897): 16–21; "Monday Evening Club," programs for 17 October 1892, 14 November 1892, 28 November 1892, 12 December 1892, Wallace Howland Papers, San Francisco, photocopies in possession of the author. Hereafter WH.

38. Richard Harding Davis to Anne Wallace, [6 October 1892]; Thomas Nelson Page to Anne Wallace, 19 March 1907; Logan E. Bleckley to Anne Wallace, 23 February 1901, 30 March 1901, 26 February 1902; Joel Chandler Harris to Anne Wallace, 9 December 1905; Burton J. Kendrick to Anne Wallace Howland, 12 April 1928; Anne Wallace Howland to Burton J. Kendrick, 13 April 1928, WH. See Burton J. Kendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1932). Bleckley was a justice on the Georgia Supreme Court; his son married Anne's sister, Cooper.

39. Anne Wallace Howland, holograph note cards [1928], WH.

40. Ada Alice Jones to Helen Jones, 19 February 1908, Ada Alice Jones Papers, New York Public Library, New York.

41. Andrew Carnegie to Anne Wallace, 13 April 1903; "Carnegie Kisses Stolen Kisses (Helpless Victim of Designing Women—And He Blushed, Says Friend)" clipping, n.d., WH.

42. Andrew Carnegie to Anne Wallace, 12 April 1906, WH.

43. Andrew Carnegie to Anne Wallace, 16 January 1908, WH.

44. Interviews with Wallace Howland, San Francisco, 6–12 May 1985.

45. Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1954), 2:135, 200.

46. George W. Bobinski, *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on American Library Development* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), 31.

47. There are numerous references to the social comings and goings of Mr. and Mrs. Bluett Lee in the social columns of the *New York Times* in the period ca. 1915–36.

48. H. J. Carr to W. C. Lane, 3 March 1899, H. J. Carr Papers, 4 February 1920, ALA Archives, Urbana, Illinois. Hereafter HJC.

49. W. C. Lane to H. J. Carr, 26 March 1899, HJC.

50. Anne Wallace to H. J. Carr, 1 April 1899, HJC.

51. J. C. Maule to H. J. Carr, 3 April 1899, HJC.

52. Wallace to Carr, 1 April 1899, HJC.

53. Carr to Wallace, 4 April 1899, HJC.
54. Carr to Maule, 5 April 1899, HJC.
55. Wallace to Carr, 5 April 1899; Lane to Carr, 15 April 1899, HJC.
56. Patrick Allen, ed., *Margaret Mitchell: Reporter* (Athens, Ga.: Hill Street Press, 2000), 14. The issue arose in a Supreme Court case earlier in the year that tested the right of young women to wear make-up.
57. Martin, *Atlanta and Environs*, 140.
58. Delia Foreacre Sneed to Frances Sage Bradley, 22 March 1915, Bradley file, CLSA.
59. CLSA student file for Bradley has the most intimate account of the Wooten affair in the correspondence of Mrs. Sneed with Bradley's mother; Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise*, 499.
60. CLSA student files for Mary Bloodworth, Sarah Louisa Manypenny, and Elwyn DeGraffenreid.
61. Brendan Gill, *Tallulah* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 13.
62. Anne Wallace to Melvil Dewey, 12 December 1905, box 34, Melvil Dewey Papers, Columbia University Archives. Hereafter MD.
63. Melvil Dewey to Anne Wallace, 16 December 1905, MD.
64. Anne Wallace to Melvil Dewey, 12 December 1905, MD.
65. Mary U. Rothrock, notes on the history of SELA, presented at the Planning Committee meeting, Gatlinburg, Tennessee, 14–15 May 1948, Mary Utopia Rothrock Papers, Lawson McGhee Library, Special Collections, Knoxville.
66. Louis R. Wilson to Tommie Dora Barker, 7 September 1935, Louis Round Wilson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
67. Anne W. Howland to John C. Settlemayer, 22 November 1950, WH; see also R[ichard] R. Bowker, "Women in the Library Profession," *Library Journal* 45 (1–15 July 1920): 590, who states that Wallace was "the regnant queen of beauty of the A.L.A. with a friendly rival later in Mary Hannah Johnson, of Nashville, Tennessee."
68. Louis R. Wilson was at the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago when he was elected in 1936; Essae Mae Culver (1882–1973, ALA president, 1940) was a native of Kansas.
69. Peggy Sullivan, *Carl H. Milam and the American Library Association* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1976), 77.
70. Carmichael, "Tommie Dora Barker and Southern Librarianship," 131.
71. Sheila G. Winship, "Arthur Ray Curry: A Biography," master's thesis, University of Texas, 1966.
72. Louise S. Robbins, *The Dismissal of Miss Ruth Brown: Civil Rights, Censorship, and the American Library* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

73. <http://www.fuckthesouth.com>, accessed 17 December 2004.

74. James Agee and Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941).

75. Tim La Haye and Jerry B. Jenkins, *Glorious Appearing: The End of Days* (Tyndale House, 2004) is the twelfth of the series that describes the Apocalypse and "Rapture" gathering the elect into heaven while the suffering of the damned is described in detail, to the apparent satisfaction of both authors and readers. The series has been an astounding best seller.

76. Charles Simic, "Down There on a Visit," *New York Review of Books* 51 (12 August 2004).

77. Stephen J. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1996).

78. *Atlanta's first branch library, built in 1909, was named after Wallace.*

79. *Interview with Shirley Brother, Atlanta, 30 July 1984.*